

terrain malinowskien, et après avoir répondu aux questionnements qui en résultaient, l'auteur discute dans le chapitre 10 d'une manière plus radicale de faire du multisite, c'est-à-dire une nouvelle forme d'ethnographie multisituée basée sur la collaboration. Il conçoit l'ethnographie comme émergeant de collaborations stratégiques, une « Ethnography as/of Collaboration » (Marcus 2009:187 n. 3). L'idée de la collaboration a d'ailleurs été explorée dans quelques-uns des chapitres de l'ouvrage et Hannerz fait pragmatiquement remarquer dans son épilogue que « [c]learly, [...], the possibility of putting together a research team of members with different linguistic and cultural competences, matching the diversity of sites, should greatly expand the range of potential multisite projects » (p. 278).

De son côté, Kim Fortun propose dans le chapitre 3 une métaphore fort intéressante qui fournit un nouvel imaginaire du multisite, lequel se base généralement sur l'imagerie des réseaux. Elle dit visualiser ses sites comme des couches superposées (*scales*), métaphore qu'elle emprunte à la géologie. Elle envisage ces couches comme des « systems that are continually being reconstituted through the interaction of many scales, variables and forces » (p. 74). Fortun illustre son propos à l'aide de la recherche qu'elle a menée à Bhopal après le désastre de 1984. « Analytically, I find it useful to differentiate [the scales], imagining the multicolored layers of complex geologic formations, some layers thicker than others, some with fissures, all subject to change, even if slowly » (p. 81). Cette métaphore est cohérente avec le multisite, puisque tout comme lui elle « pieces together a picture of an "object" with material from many (sometimes unexpected) places » (p. 82).

Il faudrait aborder en dernier le premier chapitre de l'ouvrage. Il a été rédigé par Matei Candea et constitue une version écourtée, ponctuée d'une postface, d'un article d'abord paru dans le *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (Candea 2007). Article critique du multisite qui livre un plaidoyer pour le terrain balisé (*bounded field-site*), l'auteur pose la question de la « value of self-limitation »<sup>1</sup> en ce qui concerne la pratique du terrain. Candea fonde sa critique de l'imaginaire du multisite sur deux principaux éléments. Il dénonce en premier lieu le postulat selon lequel la réalité est intégrée (*seamless reality*), sur l'idée que « any "global" entity is – must be, can only be – local in all its points » (p. 29). Il pose en second lieu la question sensible à laquelle tout ethnographe qui emprunte la stratégie multisite a fait face, c'est-à-dire celle de savoir comment délimiter le terrain multisitué, « how to make the cut » (p. 29). Bien que cette critique soit bien articulée et intéressante, elle semble avoir été insérée de manière un peu artificielle et aucun dialogue (ou très peu) n'est entrepris. Ce fait, en somme, s'avère cohérent avec le reste de l'ouvrage, qui souffre d'un manque décevant de ligne directrice.

## Note

- 1 Candea fait une intéressante analogie avec le monde du cinéma. Il compare les limites imposées par le terrain unique au mouvement cinématographique danois *Dogme 95*, initié par Lars

Von Trier et Thomas Vinterberg, ces derniers s'étant imposé des limites extrêmement contraignantes, alors qu'il associe l'ethnographie multisituée et ses limites presque inexistantes au *Lord of the Ring*. Le réalisateur de la trilogie, Peter Jackson, a repoussé les limites techniques pour mettre à l'écran tout ce dont il pouvait rêver. « This is where I would like to open my account, in this space between *Lord of the Ring* and *Dogme*, between sensibilities based on limitless narrative possibilities and sensibilities based on self-imposed restriction » (p. 25).

## Références

- Candea, Matei  
2007 Arbitrary Locations: In Defence of the Bounded Field-Site. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 13(1):167-184.
- Marcus, George  
1995 Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multisited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:95-117.

Winnie Lem and Pauline Gardiner Barber (eds.), *Class, Contention, and a World in Motion*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2010, 224 pages.

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“Class, Contention, and a World in Motion” revolves around the central premise that class and migration are intrinsically entwined. Migration, globalization and configurations of class intersect and are mutually constitutive; migration is a product of, while also a part of, ongoing processes of globalization. Opening with these arguments, the volume’s editors, Winnie Lem and Pauline Gardiner Barber, present a persuasive challenge for an alternative approach to migration and globalization studies in which class becomes a fundamental and central aspect of analysis.

This challenge is deftly taken up by the volume’s contributors. Through primarily ethnographic foci, the contributors examine themes of human movement and class addressed from a variety of perspectives and regional concentrations. The classed experiences of immigrants, temporary foreign workers, transnational and trans-regional labour migrants and refugees emerge, while these ethnographies show that the lines that divide these various categories of mobility are often blurred and often mutable. With a shared focus on migrant agency (and the limits thereof), the contributors present a commitment to move beyond traditional and public representations which pose migrants as passive subjects enmeshed in global economic forces beyond their understanding, or as objects of policies to be regulated, disciplined and defended against. Instead, they focus on such mobile bodies as political, gendered subjects with the potential to recognize and mobilize against their conditions, even if this potential is not always realized.

The theme of political mobilization and collective action among mobile subjects runs through the bulk of the chapters in this volume. Davide Però examines the development of two grassroots, London-based Latin American groups and their differing strategies in interacting with and creating space for themselves within British sociopolitical structures. Elisabetta Zontini's chapter shows female Moroccan and Filipina immigrants in Bologna and Barcelona as social actors developing a variety of methods to mobilize individually and collectively, finding creative methods to negotiate degrees of citizenship rights for themselves and their families in the process. Susana Narotzky explores varying levels of political activism in her discussion of two women's life-histories of mobility in and around Spain, presenting narratives based around the separate life-organizing goals of collective organizing for aims of class struggle and of personal sacrifice to ensure the survival of one's family.

Narotzky's ethnography underlines an additional key theme that many of the other contributors also grapple with: that while certain subjects do organize, mobilize and resist the exploitive structures in which they find themselves, many others do not. Belinda Leach's contribution examines themes such as acquiescence, discussing how collective class action in a Canadian auto plant was stymied by tensions between El Salvadoran immigrants and resident white Canadians emerging from their distinctive yet entwined classed histories. Corporate and state policies additionally serve to highlight perceptions of ethnocultural difference and diminish those of shared positions in the labour process. Adding to this discussion is Barber's chapter which examines how technologies such as cell-phones become a double-edged sword in transforming migration experiences for migrant Filipina caregivers. Constant access to communication technology allows workers new avenues of contact in what is otherwise a socially isolating and solitary workplace. Yet these same opportunities for contact can allow family members to put additional pressures on such workers by highlighting their financial commitments to back "home" while producing a disincentive to employment-risking activism.

The contributors also focus on exposing the view of migrants as passive subjects or objects of policy as often not an *a priori* assessment but rather as the result of state and corporate strategies to disempower otherwise potentially political subjects. This is a point emphasized by the majority of contributors in this volume, yet particularly articulated in Marie France Labrecque's chapter on the developments of maquiladoras in various regions of Mexico. As Labrecque argues, maquiladoras were historically organized and situated with the aims of variably exploiting migrant and indigenous labour to prevent and weaken labour organization. A connecting point is that migratory processes often allow for the proletarianization of new populations, as emphasized by Frances Abrahamer Rothstein in her examination of the recent and rapid inclusion of female workers from a rural Mexican community into increasingly gendered internal and transnational labour markets.

The ability or disability to mobilize is thus directly tied to relations that migrants attempt to forge, are denied, or have thrust upon them by the state. Such negotiations of citizenship constitute another major thread tying the chapters of this volume together. Wenona Giles, in her intriguing look at Afghan refugees in Iran, examines how a group is simultaneously defined both through their initial movements to escape persecution and through their immobility within their host state. Somewhat ironically, their mobility has left them immobile where they come to occupy a particularly vulnerable position as exploitable workers at the bottom of the labour market. Meanwhile, Lem's chapter on Chinese immigrants in France describes intersections of kinship networks and peculiar relations of citizenship in which such immigrants are posed as "ideal migrants" and "model citizens" but denied a sense of belonging in wider French society. This perpetuates senses of exclusion and an acquiescent stance towards neoliberal governance, precluding such immigrants from class mobilization currently cutting across ethnic lines in France. Josiah Heyman further augments this ongoing discussion linking citizenship, class and migration through his chapter examining conditions of illegality and precarious citizenship among undocumented Mexican workers. Using an innovative framework of "trust" and "risk," his ethnography examines how mobile subjects become constituted as a threat to the state and in need of regulation in a U.S. border region.

Linking configurations of class to migration, as the editors of this volume point out, is neither a novel nor an overly contentious undertaking. Yet, it is the positioning of class as a fundamental aspect of migration and as a vital part of the analysis of mobility which makes this volume a crucial intervention in migration studies. In arguing for geographic mobilities as products of classed relations while showing these same mobilities as simultaneously transforming configurations of class, the contributors have shown how ethnography can go beyond the immediate to examine the larger processes at play. Overall, this volume operates as both a political project in calling for sustained focus on the centrality of class, and as an illustration of the various forms such an approach may take. Those looking for grounded accounts of migration, neoliberalization and the changing faces of citizenship in a globalizing world of movements would be well-served by *Class, Contention, and a World in Motion*.

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**Francine Saillant (dir.),** *Réinventer l'anthropologie? Les sciences de la culture à l'épreuve des globalisations*, Montréal: Liber, 2009, 252 pages.

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